RESEARCH IN DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT:
LEARNING ABOUT EFFECTIVENESS OF MANAGEMENT INTERVENTIONS

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Inspired by a February 1982 Development Management workshop at the American University and reinforced by the July SID Development Management Workshop in Baltimore, our team assembled under the auspices of the International Development Program at the American University to research development management interventions and innovations with attention to a central question: how might we know whether interventions to improve management for development are effective ?

Over the past decade the Agency for International Development has sponsored a variety of approaches to improving management performance. The most recent project, entitled Improving Management Performance, sponsors both the NASPAA project, and part of the Development Project Management Center in USDA. It was decided early in our team's work that we would not restrict ourselves to these efforts but would look back to the other sponsored development management programs and thus consider how to assess progress, and consider future research directions.

Throughout our literature search and interviews with authorities we had the impression of working on a giant puzzle without a picture to serve as a guide on the cover of the box. Along the way some people indicated that they had visions of "the big picture." Sometimes they did, and sometimes they had images

of some of the most attractive sections rather than the whole.

It is our feeling that the puzzle is not solved with this paper, or any other yet to be written. The most that can be done at the current state of the art in development management is identify the questions which define the boundaries of the inquiry. In this effort we are grateful for the insights shared by the participants at the Social Development Management Workshop held prior to the annual conference of the American Society of Public Administration, April 1983. We are especially grateful for the help of Rudi Klauss, NASPAA director, for his patient and wise assistance.

There is no way to acknowledge fully all the other contributors to our thinking. Yet we would be remiss if we did not acknowledge the help of George Honadle whose ideas on rules of evidence voiced at many conferences have influenced us all. John Harbeson, Marcus Ingle, Richard Duncan, Merlyn Kettering, Norman Nicholson, and Jim Cotter have each been helpful above and beyond the call of friendship. Jeanne North and Ken Kornher have been excellent project managers, sharing insights and helpful criticism throughout. Errors of interpretation undoubtedly remain, therefore none of the contributors should be held responsible for our mistakes. These, and other shortcomings, are ours, even as we remain indebted to them.

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PART I

MANAGEMENT INTERVENTIONS AND THE FIELD OF DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

Both the practice and field of development have been undergoing extensive review in the past decade.[1] The growing awareness that traditional development projects, particularly those designed to help the poor, do not always accomplish significant or long lasting changes has spurred a search for more effectiveness.[2] Responding and learning from this criticism, people directly involved in development assistance work have been looking for new ways to design and implement development programs and projects. And increasingly they are focusing on the roles of managers and their ability to stimulate organizational learning and participatory planning.[3]

Much of this work has been sponsored by US AID. For example, the work of Cornell University on participation, local institutions, paraprofessionals and landlessness has been a major contribution.[4] In the Philippines, the work of Frances Korten with the Ford Foundation and of David Korten, originally with the Ford Foundation and now through the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) is also illustrative of the new thrust. Their innovations in the National Irrigation Administration, and the Asian Institute of Management, have provided new perspectives on ways to increase organizational responsiveness to beneficiaries.[5] Consulting

organizations such as Development Alternatives, Inc., have contributed to understanding management needs within rural projects, especially among integrated rural development projects.[6] The Development Project Management Center has done focused on the role of team building in organizational change and has enhanced our understanding of how organizations learn.[7] There were earlier efforts to explore the role of organizations and management in development projects -- William Siffin's work through PASITAM, and later the International Development Center, is a prime example.[8]

One of the most encouraging developments is the increased learning from Third World practitioners and institutions. Management institutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America are contributing to an international dialogue over what can and should be done if programs and projects to alleviate poverty are to be effective. The work on action research carried out by the Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad and the Asian Institute of Management are cases in point.[9]

Much of this work is based on the view that development means more than economic growth, and that development management is concerned with projects and programs designed to increase peoples' capacity to affect their futures. This view is different from the concept of development which was prevalent in some international development assistance organizations in the 1960s and 1970s. At the time development

was viewed as a function of economic growth, largely measurable using aggregate indicators. Since then those within the field of development management have agreed that development is different from and far more than growth. There is an emerging concensus that development means an increase in the capacity of people to discern and affect their environments and their futures.

Development as capacity building implies also that people need to be empowered, that we cannot assume that administrators and political leaders will act in the public's best interests. It also suggests a concern with equity, for insuring that such capacity building is for all groups in the community. Finally, there must be consideration of sustainability, so that people are enabled to undertake activities which do not exhaust their resources, either physical or human.[10]

Such a view of development means that we have to consider seriously the extent to which peoples, communities and organizations are interdependent. Interdependence means that groups and organizations can serve as resources for, as well as constraints on, each other. Interdependence forges opportunities even as it diminishes freedom. On the positive side, collections of people working together have greater potential for solving problems than individuals alone. At the same time, interdependence adds to the tension and complexity inherent in policy choices because it constrains options, limits areas of freedom and engenders conflict.

The field of development management therefore is concerned with projects and programs which increase the capacities of individuals and communities to direct their own future(s), and to do so in light of interdependencies. It means identifying and marshalling the resources available, helping groups define their goals, and implementing projects or programs. For some within the field it involves what is called "social development management", or increasing the responsiveness of organizations to their publics.[11]

Taken together, this concern with development as more than growth and more than effective service delivery has generated a variety of interventions, all of them concerned with some combination of capacity building, empowerment, equity, and sustainability. The literature on these interventions, some of it referred to above, is rich and growing; in fact, the field of development management can be said to be the source of much of the creative and innovative work being done in the field of management.

The purpose of this paper is to take this discussion one step further and ask about the effectiveness of development management interventions. How do we know whether such efforts enhance peoples' capacity to influence their futures ? How do we know if they have become empowered? What are the rules of evidence by which the effectiveness of management interventions can be assessed?

Embedded within these general questions are more specific ones. What are the results of a management intervention? How does one know whether interventions to improve management for development are effective in the short term, or the long term? These questions are not as elemental as they may appear. Since development involves capacity building, evidence of effectiveness will necessarily be more complex than it would be if we were only looking for evidence of growth. Thus our question becomes: what are the rules of evidence by which we can state that development and capacity building have occurred?

Before we turn to these rules of evidence in more detail, there are three preliminary issues to be discussed. First the nature of the evidence in which we are interested will vary with the kind of intervention. Second, the nature of the evidence will also vary with the kind of result being examined. Third, we need to consider who should determine what constitutes effectiveness.

Kinds of Interventions

A variety of development management interventions have been sponsored by bilateral and international organizations.[12] (While our focus here is on those most recently supported by AID, it is likely that these experiences will shed light on interventions supported by other donors[13].) There are, broadly speaking, three different kinds of interventions:

MANAGEMENT INTERVENTIONS

1. Training

   national, regional and local level
   technical, management skills
   training of trainers
   skills upgrading (ongoing training)

2. Installation of management systems

   accounting,
   project identification and development,
   evaluation

3. Consultation

   on reorganization, process analysis, reorientation,
   organizational development and decision-making

There are also different kinds of intervenors:

INTERVENORS

1. Individual
   - host country national from project ministry
   - host country national from other ministry
   - donor organization official also a donor country national from central/local office
   - staff of private voluntary organization
   - university personnel
   - private sector organization staff
   - consulting firm staff
   - multilateral agency staff

2. Team
   - combination of any of the above
   - responsible to:
     - host ministry
     - national government
     - donor agency
     - private voluntary organization
     - consulting firm
     - multilateral organization
     - any combination of the above

Not only are there different combinations of interventions and intervenors, but the interactions also vary by

1) the original entry point,
2) intensity of the effort,
3) duration of the interaction, and
4) breadth of the activity.

For example, the results of a management intervention when the intervenor is a foreign consultant on a short-term, one-time contract with a lower level entry point cannot be expected to have long-term consequences. On the other hand, an ongoing intervention which pulls host-country institutions together in a jointly planned action research process over a long period of time can be expected to have long- term consequences.

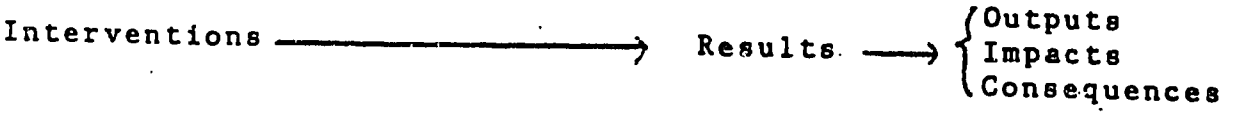
Kinds of Results

Results are similarly varied. One useful way to classify them is to think of outputs -- that which is actually produced, such as hours of training or seeds delivered; impacts -- the effect of those outputs, such as learning achieved and crops planted; and consequences or outcomes -- such as change brought about by the learning and the ways in which the crops affected the food supply in the community. (See Figure 1)

We can use these distinctions to clarify what is meant by the term "results". For example, Fran Korten, reflecting on her experiences with development projects in the Philippines, writes that if bureaucracies are really to get involved in sustained development they need to "shift from an emphasis on activities to an emphasis on results." Using the terms from Figure 1,

bureaucracies need to focus on the consequences of what they do, not only on outputs.

Figure 1. Interventions and Results.



There is one last distinction to be made among kinds of results: results that are internal and external to the organization. It is a useful distinction precisely because so much of the literature on development management has dealt with the need for bureaucracies to become "reoriented," or changed internally.[15] For example, it is argued that they need to find ways to alter their processes so that they can learn from the community, and can be flexible. These questions direct us to look at the internal results, such as changes in information systems, in performance systems, or in ways of incorporating information from clients. In Part IV we will specifically discuss evidence dealing with such internal characteristics of organizations. At the same time, it is also important to collect information on external results -- on what the organization produces and whom it serves -- and to investigate if internal changes have had any external effects.

Who Determines Results

To fully understand different kinds of results we need to consider who determines effectiveness. There are different interest groups, or stakeholders, involved in any project, and

they often desire different outputs, impacts, and consequences. Sometimes their perceptions vary and they have different perspectives on the same things. A farmer may describe an outcome very differently than the local extension agent. Other times stakeholders have different interests and thus may not agree whether a result is positive, negative, or irrelevant. They may have different criteria for what constitutes acceptable or desired results.

Similarly, each interest group may have a different list of the relevant stakeholders for a particular project. A national ministry may be concerned with farmers, a donor agency with clients, and the local project organization with including local political elites. Figure 2 gives a partial listing of relevant stakeholders and suggests that their views of the three kinds of results may vary.

Figure 2. Stakeholders and Perceptions of Results

	Outputs	Impacts	Consequences
Actual Beneficiaries			
Intervenors			
Host Country Organization			
Donors			
Host Country Public			
Donor Country Public			

Selecting Rules of Evidence

Thus far the purpose has been to consider ways to determine if development interventions are effective, and specifically to consider the rules of evidence which are appropriate for establishing effectiveness. We have shown that the appropriate evidence depends on the combination of kind of intervention, kind of result, views of different stakeholders, and whether both internal and external results are considered. A central issue then is who should be involved in determining which results and which evidence are examined. There are two distinct ways to approach this question -- the first, that only an external observer can make meaningful and unbaised claims about results, and the second, that those affected by the intervention must be involved in stipulating criteria for effectiveness.

Those who want external observers to plan and carry out the research are following classical evaluation design guidelines. They assume this approach eliminates bias and gives the most objective account of accomplishments. Typically they begin with the stated goals of the project or the goals outlined in legislation, and use these as criteria for the kinds of results to be studied.

Many have criticized this approach on the grounds that it may be useful for donors but seldom for managers, and hence cannot be used to make improvements. In addition, since few

interventions achieve their stated goals in full, this emphasis on the "bottom line" is programmed to finding failure. Critics suggest that it is more useful to link an examination of the results of an intervention to the decision making process in the organization. This kind of inquiry requires that those in and affected by the organization be consulted about objectives and the evidence that would be most useful to improve the intervention. Evidence on effectiveness may vary according to whether or not those involved in the implementation process are included in defining what constitutes effectiveness. Later we will argue that the second approach, in which the users of the research are included in designing it, is especially appropriate for interventions concerned with capacity building, empowerment, sustainability, and equity.

Conclusions

In Part IV we will pursue the question of effectiveness in detail, looking at variables and indicators of effectiveness. Before getting to those issues, however, we need to consider two preliminary concerns. Part II examines problems of knowing about the reality of an intervention's results and considers epistemological issues. Part III relates those concerns to method, research design, and organizational learning. Traditionally questions about evidence and research have been treated solely as methodological problems. We are concerned that they also deal with the ways in which organizations learn and use

information. We will then consider directions for future research in Part V.

PART II

THINKING ABOUT A DISCOVERY PROCESS

Determining the effectiveness of interventions raises three related issues. First, what constitutes effectiveness; what are the qualities, relationships and objects that tell us if development is occurring? Second, how can we know about these qualities and relationships -- the epistemological question? And third, what research methods are appropriate?

In Part I the concept of development was defined to include capacity, equity, empowerment, and sustainability. These terms suggest that in order to determine whether interventions are effective, we need several kinds of evidence:

1. Physical evidence of increased well being -- are people physically any better off as the result of an intervention?
2. Information about individuals and their social relationships.
3. Information about hidden or latent issues as well as those which reach the public agenda. Data on why people lack power, after all, may not be readily apparent.[1]
4. A sense of people's potential, of what they could become under different circumstances. Research cannot be confined to collecting information about what is presently existing.

5. Evidence of both social conflict and instances of agreement; beneficiaries may or may not agree with the goals of an organization delivering services to them.
6. Finally, data about peoples' situations, the limits and opportunities that confront them.

If these are important questions, the next issue to consider is the kind of evidence that would be appropriate to answer them. The answer is not immediately obvious because of the nature of development; therefore we will begin by reviewing several of the major research traditions and discuss their relevance to research on development.

The dominant tradition of social research has been positivism.[2] Based on British empiricism, positivists originally assumed that the observations and the data we collect correspond to reality and hence that we can directly know reality through our senses. Gradually, however, positivism has been influenced by the claim that what we know through our senses is influenced by our interpretations and theories about reality. Thus the more current claim is that research involves testing ideas against sensory data or verifying theories through empirical knowledge. "By testing hypotheses and accepting some as better confirmed than others, science advances toward ever more powerful and accurate theories from which predictions about increasingly wider ranges of phenomena can be made."[3]

Positivists go on to argue that we can arrive at objective knowledge through observations, providing that those doing the

research are disinterested, skeptical, openminded and procedurally meticulous. For those inclined to be inductive, objectivity comes from consensus among properly trained experts about what is observed; for those more deductively oriented, objective knowledge is gained by using logic and correct procedures.[4] In either case, however, the scientific community is the significant judge of research results.

In its extreme form, positivism emphasizes quantifiable data about external features of behavior, and tries to derive generalizations and predictions about future behavior. It looks for correlations, but it all too frequently translates correlations into causal statements in spite of all reminders that correlation does not necessarily indicate causality. Most practitioners within alternative research traditions (phenomenological, structural, etc.) accept the historicist premise that peoples' knowledge reflects their historical and social situation or their psychological makeup and thus knowledge does not directly correspond to an outsider's concept of reality. Kuhn, for example, emphasizes the extent to which we view the world through lenses or theories that direct us to certain evidence and not to others. We develop concepts and classifications on the basis of only a few aspects of reality, ignoring its complexity.[4] For this reason, Kuhn argues, when we presume to test our theories against reality we are really engaging in a circular process. It is therefore more

acceptable to proceed by building cases to support our theories, than by "testing" theories against facts.[6]

Ian Mitroff, writing about the power that emotional :ommittments and emotions play in scientific research, indicates that we do not necessarily need to free ourselves from such committments since they can be very valuable in conducting research. They can direct us to significant facts and relationships. Thus he questions the positivist ideal of the unbiased and neutral observer.

The danger of historicism is that it can lead us to extreme relativism, that any opinion is as valuable as any other. In fact, few historicists adopt the strong relativist position, believing that reliable knowledge based on experience and observation is possible. Their point is that we are not limited to observable knowledge, and that we create rather than discover knowledge.

A second alternative to positivism is offered by the structuralists (who often overlap with historicists). They argue that observations of behavior yield information about surface appearances but ignore the structures which underlie and organize human life. A project may succeed in distributing seed to farmers, and perhaps even in stimulating increased production. The structuralist reminder is that until we have also examined the marketing structure in the society we have not collected all the evidence relevant to improving the farmers' position.

This line of thinking directs us to the impact that the macro forces in the society have on micro level activities.[8]

Critical theorists are usually structuralists who study how organizations promote the interests of the dominant economic class in the society. They recommend that we design research to reveal how this relationship comes about and how organizations develop ideologies to mask the conflict between different interests.[9] The implication for research is that we need to question how the "facts" on which social science is built form the base for the ideologies that economic interests develop.

R.G.H. Siu also reminds us, in The Tao of Science, that non-Western traditions have been more holistic in their views of reality and more contemplative in their approaches to knowledge than the Western intellectual tradition with its orientation towards action and control. Whereas Western traditions have been based on materialist conceptions of progress, other world views are based on values such as harmony and contentment. He points out that breaking things down to analyze them intellectually leads to a distorted image of the world as a conglomeration of isolated bits with no relationships to each other. Many non-Western ways of knowing conceive of entities as embodying opposite qualities which are essential to each other, standing in opposition to Western logic which precludes dual natures.[10] Siu was writing a Taoist account of science, but there are vast quantities of material, many not available in English, which

reveal ways of knowing very different from approaches taken by Western science.

Another perspective on evidence is offered by phenomenologists who state that the most important factors to be studied are the meanings that people attach to their activities. People are not passively "made;" they actively create their society, and therefore, we can only know about reality by examining the subjective experience of individuals.[11] Researchers in Nepal have documented how often survey research, based on a positivist approach, fails to accurately portray how peasants feel about development projects and social services.[12] Surveys, for example, might tell us how many people use a health clinic, and they might indicate degrees of satisfaction, but they are less able to find out if peasants trust those who run the clinic, and thus whether the advice changes their habits and behavior. Denis Goulet's study entitled The Cruel Choice likewise offers a compelling account of how peasants feel about the developmental choices they confront.[13]

To the phenomenologist, the task of the researcher is to reflect faithfully the common sense understanding which actors have of their worlds. Measures and studies are valid if the actors, those being studied, agree with the measures being used. This approach is important in cross cultural research where western observers frequently misunderstand, or cannot interpret, the culture they are studying. As Edward Said notes, such misunderstanding usually

arises because observers arbitrarily select a few aspects of behavior for study, imposing upon them their own outsiders' perspective.[14]

Phenomenologists rely mostly on encouraging subjects to reveal their attitudes about events and to reflect on the context or situation which influences them. Unlike researchers who base their methods in positivism, they refuse to force responses into the categories found in survey research, and they find that unobtrusive measures and observations are inadequate to get at inner feelings. Thus they rely on unstructured or semi structured interviews. While the former are like conversations with a goal, the latter are useful when the researcher knows enough about the situation to formulate some prior questions.

Yet another way of knowing and doing is known as design science. Based largely on the work of Herbert Simon, it has recently been amplified by Trudi Miller in her work on implementation.[15] Design science emphasizes peoples' ability to deliberately change their world. Focusing on artifacts created by people (e.g. computers or organizations) Simon argues that the logic of change in the artifact is <u>not knowable</u> or <u>discoverable</u> by natural science methods. The discovery process of the natural sciences is unable to understand the full dimensions of change brought about by cognitive processes, whether through the computer or within organizations.

For both Simon and Miller, the quest to describe average behavior is misleading; it is more useful to see that behavior is shaped by both situations and the actors involved. In order to study change, the design science approach draws on interactive theories of learning and cognition. Since people respond to their perceptions of their environments, it is important to understand their mental processes. It is also important to understand how they decide what they can change in order to work towards their goals. Social learning or design therefore involves experimentation and adaptation. According to Simon the goal of design science is not to select the optimal course of action. Rather the goal is to find a way to calculate the most appropriate action in a situation, recognizing that society and individuals are continually changing.[16]

What does a design science approach imply about research on management interventions? Because both perception and situations are important, survey research methods are often inappropriate because they are incomplete instruments for capturing information about intentions and interactions. And because it is important to establish what performance is possible, it is more useful to study extreme or outstanding cases than to try to establish average responses to situations. Design science is more interested in hypotheses about future possibilities than about current behavior. Such hypotheses cannot be tested at the time they are generated; they can only be tested with iterative designs as in engineering. Evaluations of AID projects usually fail to take

account of these features of a project that the design science approach considers to be important. Typically such evaluations focus only on the results of a project, and provide little or no insight into why project outcomes take the form that they do, or how management decisions changed the course of events. In documenting their projects, the Kortens and Norm Uphoff refer to the importance of committment, values and excitement as intrinsic to the learning process within development organizations. Thus they implicitly concur with the design science approach that we need to focus on how people enter into a situation and seek to change it, rather than emphasize the general conditions that constrain their actions.[17]

Each of these approaches to research emphasizes the importance of knowing about different aspects of reality and claims that some methods are more appropriate than others. There is one last difference among them to consider, namely the way in which each describes the research process itself. In most models, and particularly in those based on a positivist approach, trained researchers have a privileged status and a special role based on their presumed disinterest and objectivity. There are several problems with this view of research however. In the first place, such an approach usually implies a hierarchical view of knowledge. According to Frederick Thayer, knowledge, like society, is hierarchically organized, and this allows those at the top to impose their view of reality on others.[18] There is a

tendency for most scientific researchers to feel that their expertise confers special rights on them in deciding what knowledge is legitimate.

Secondly, this hierarchical organization and the norm of disinterestedness mean that researchers can disclaim any responsibility for the use of their material, or for the questions, procedures and evidence they use. Finally, the norms of a scientific community can limit the research process. Irving Janis describes how group pressures often lead to unhealthy complacency and conformity.[19] People may hesitate to raise critical issues with colleagues; they can easily become insulated from outside opinion, from the views of non experts; the group reinforces the belief that the scientific method is inherently right and that trained scientists are uniquely qualified to carry out the research task.

In general, these critiques of traditional social science direct us to a more participatory model of research, in which researchers and subjects produce knowledge jointly. This stance means that researchers have to reorient their roles and their relationships with other communities. They have to take others seriously as intelligent and capable beings who have important and legitimate contributions to make. Scientists need to see subjects as competent judges of what factors are significant, rather than assuming that they (the scientists) already know what to ask, whom to ask, when and where. The purpose of research

also changes. It involves using knowledge to empower people, to increase the capacity of people to control their lives by developing information among them, rather than handing information directly over to decision makers or making it publicly available only through professional communities.

Most of the current research on development projects is based on the positivist model, and assumes that by using techniques such as experimental designs, survey research and cost benefit analysis, we can come to some objective conclusions about the impact that interventions have on their community or society. And these approaches have been useful in one respect: they provide evidence about the physical outputs of projects. They remind us that it is relevant to know how much seed has been distributed and how many hours a health clinic is open. Harold Lasswell's point that a major concern of the social sciences is determining "who gets what?" is particularly compelling in researching development.

At the same time, these traditional questions do not capture all of the dimensions of the management interventions with which we are concerned. And the "what" in Lasswell's edict assuredly includes a broader conception of results than physical activities -- it includes results conceived as impacts and consequences. A focus on obvious, countable outputs alone may even give us a false sense of knowledge if we do not look further or in more depth. Numbers of activities and amounts of

material dispersed may not help us identify the most crucial factors leading to the success or failure of a given project. A predisposition to look at the results that can most easily be counted often means that we end by examining outputs rather than impacts or consequences. As as example, it would give an incomplete picture to focus on the number of pumps installed, rather than the amount of water available for farmers or how the increased water supply was distributed, and whether or not it enabled big farmers to buy out small farmers.

Similarly, quantitative approaches are not always sensitive to the particular perceptions and values in a local community. They thus may not pick up evidence about some of the most important sources of change in a community. Traditional social science tends to give a static picture of development and to ignore possibilities for change. To deal with social change, it becomes important to use methods such as case studies, in-depth interviewing and participant observation. Finally, and yet most importantly, the people directly affected need to have a role to play in designing the research, in selecting factors to examine, in choosing ways to measure them, and in using the research findings.

These methods are not any less "scientific." According to Kuhn, even physical scientists do not learn by collecting objective knowledge; rather they gain knowledge from creative insights. It is helpful to draw on Kaplan's model of "knowledge

in use.".[19] He tells us that instead of beginning with a methodology and applying it across the board, we should use logic appropriate or useful for the subject we are studying.[20] Kaplan continues that social scientists are always concerned with two kinds of data: what people do, and what their actions mean to them. Each of these kinds of data may require different research approaches; the point is to discover how to establish the validity of each one, rather than assuming that only one approach is valid. For those doing research on the effectiveness of interventions the implication is that we need to use whatever "logic" will enable us to capture the fullest dimensions of effectiveness. Thus we arrive at a contingency approach to research, and we can conclude that the search for rules of evidence of the effectiveness of management interventions will almost always direct us to cast a wider net than is found in traditional social science models.

PART III

A RESEARCH PROCESS FOR LEARNING ABOUT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MANAGEMENT INTERVENTIONS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

How do we proceed to determine if management interventions are effective? Answering this question requires considering two related issues: first, research designs and ways to relate interventions to results; and second, how organizations deal with information. Typically the question of effectiveness would deal only with the first issue, approaching research purely as a methodological problem, examining and comparing research designs and techniques . Our view of development, however, directs us to be concerned with organizations and whether they are learning from interventions to increase their capacities. Unfortunately organizations can also use knowledge in ways that undermine development and do not empower beneficiaries. Thus an appropriate research design must deal with both methodology and the ways in which organizations learn and adapt. Throughout, these points will be related to Part I, which discussed how effectiveness varies according to the nature and purpose of the intervention, and to Part II which examined different assumptions about knowledge generation.

II. A METHODOLOGY FOR DETERMINING EFFECTIVENESS

A. Traditional Designs.

Studies of effectiveness usually follow one of two different approaches: either an experimental or a goal-based design. The logic of experimental design is to compare two groups, one which has experienced an intervention with another which has not, and determine if a change occurred only in the treatment group. The key to determining if the intervention actually caused the change is to insure that the two groups are as similar as possible on all relevant characteristics. For example, if the effect of an intervention might be influenced by a particular characteristic of a community, then it is important for both groups to have that same characteristic.[1]

A goal-based study focuses on whether the goals of the project are being accomplished, providing a before-after comparison. The first step is to determine the goals of a project; then the results are examined to see how well the two match. There are several variations of this approach: it may establish procedures to monitor an intervention, it may compare several interventions, or it may employ in depth case studies. Frequently it employs such techniques as cost-benefit analysis to assess whether the goals efficiently achieved.[2]

Either of these approaches may be appropriate for certain development management interventions. Returning to the

discussion of kinds of interventions and intervenors in Part I, one can anticipate that in some cases either an experimental or a goal-based design might be useful. Donors, for example, are funding a great variety of interventions, and need to know which gives the greatest return for their investment. Thus they will often be interested in an experimental design. Or, to the extent that political elites in donor countries need an accounting of how aid money is being spent, a design that looks at goal accomplishment may be useful.[3] Generally, however, there are two problems with both of these approaches that are relevant to development interventions. The next two sections will deal with these problems.

B. A Process Approach to Research On Interventions

As noted in Part I traditional evaluations have been criticized primarily because they focus narrowly on outputs or activities of an intervention and do not address the problems in implementing it, nor do they try to show the impact of the intervention on capacity building. Process approaches to determining the effectiveness of interventions try to relate outputs or the activities of an intervention to management decisions. Instead of aiming for a conclusion that the project failed or succeeded, a process approach tries to link processes of implementation with the end results, and to use the knowledge gained to improve decision making. There are several different versions of a process approach:

1. Utilization Based Evaluations. Michael Patton argues that traditional evaluations are not useful to those in charge of implementing a project since their research design neglects problems that managers must deal with. Therefore we need to begin with the reality confronting the manager integrating their concerns into the research design.. Those involved in the project should participate in determining the goals that should be examined, and which indicators best capture their meaning. Patton points out that anyone who has an interest or a "stake" in the project must be included in this process. He develops procedures for consulting with stakeholders, clarifying their expectations, and the areas in which more data would be useful to them. This approach, known as utilization-focused evaluation, thus emphasizes ways in which participants view problems, meanings they ascribe to them, and contexts within which they operate. It frequently draws in wider varieties of information than would be gathered in either of the approaches described above.[4]

2. Action Research. A second variation of a process approach to designing research is "action research." In this model, the role of the researcher is to become conciously and directly involved in changing the organization, while trying to also understand it more fully.[5] Action research is typically formative rather than summative, focusing on ongoing design and adjustment and interim effects, rather than final outcomes.

Researchers who use action research are thus more than consultants committed to solving an organization's problems; they are also committed to learning more about organizations and the possibilities for change. Clients are also more than "subjects"; they become co-researchers, making equal contributions to the research project. The challenge for researchers is to reconcile their two roles - as change agents and as scientific observers. As scientists, their observatio have to be as systematic and controlled as possible. Because findings will have uses beyond solving the clients' problems, it is important for the researchers to be very open about their purposes, methods and their scientific goals. They must also resist the temptation to implement new ideas unilaterally, preempting learning and responsiblilty on the part of field staffs.

3. Process Documentation. Process documentation is a form of action research. As the term is used by those involved with bureaucratic reorientation in the National Irrigation Administration in the Philippines[6], process documentation is a non-evaluative form of research intended to help agencies know how projects actually work and what changes are needed in the agency to support more effective interventions. Full-time researchers are asked to record project activities and to describe the problems and issues they raise for participants. Process documentors primarily use participant observation and unstructured interviews to collect information. The documentation is reviewed by agency field staff, partly to

reassure them that the reports are indeed non-evaluative and that they are not vehicles for passing on negative or covert information.

4. Case studies, and single case design. Action research and process documenation by their nature primarily produce descriptive case studies. In order to understand what aspects of an intervention brought about a result, idiosyncratic information about processes and relationships within a project can be illuminating. The single case study involves monitoring variability in behavior, attitudes and output, and investigating causes of variability in the particular setting. A design science approach suggests that we can learn a great deal from studies of extreme cases, both successes and failures. Such studies can tell us more about what is possible and how to attain it, than many studies that look for general tendencies in several interventions.

For those who are looking for causal explanations, however, case studies present problems. It is difficult to determine if an intervention caused the results, since there is no way to take other variables into account by examining it under different circumstances and drawing comparisons. Several authors, however, have argued that carefully designed studies can use single cases to draw comparisons and demonstrate causality. It is possible tc construct data collection techniques such that case studies of similar interventions in similar settings can be

compared and some cautious generalizations made. Alternatively, one could design case studies in two communities, which differ primarily in one respect, say poor and not so poor, in order to see if the same result occurs under different circumstances. While such a procedure offers a very rough control procedure, it does permit tentative speculations about causality.[8]

III. DECIDING WHAT INFORMATION TO COLLECT

Traditional designs for studying interventions have two problems: 1) they do not necessarily collect information about the issues that those involved in the project are actually confronting, and 2) information collected does not necessarily indicate whether development has taken place. Development that enhances peoples' capacity and empowers them requires information about the impact of interventions on perceptions and feelings as well as behavior. Research designs which focus on outputs or on general attitudes may not give us this kind of information.

One example of problems with inappropriate data is offered by project workers in Nepal.[9] They noted that millions of dollars have been spent on survey research, but that very little of it has been useful. Much of the data was flawed by a high incidence of misreporting and inaccuracy. For example, workers found that when people were asked about crop yields, amounts of grain sold, or annual income, misreporting occurred almost all

of the time. Even when they reported expenses, respondents said later they could not recall their actual expenses.

Beyond misreporting, surveys were not able to collect information on the centrally important question of changes in peoples' attitudes. They were not useful in understanding why people changed or expanded their capacities. Also because they were designed to look for general tendencies, surveys were not able to do justice to the context of an action or behavior. It was misleading, for example, to try to generalize about why people adopted family planning since reasons vary with the context and situation. In short, neglect of "those parts of reality which are ambiguous, dynamic and context-bound, curtails the ability [of surveys] to understand and explain human behavior."[10] We need to find ways to capture a variety of data on interactions, contexts, and dynamic factors in development, and not be limited by narrow techniques.[11]

IV. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES.

Given the value of a process approach, and nature of useful information, consider guidelines for planning a study of an intervention's effectiveness. Because of the variety of interventions and diversity of their environments, varied data are necessary -- about relationships, physical goods, personal and organizational capabilities. Techniques for collecting information which capture and reflect variation will also be necessary. There are three kinds of data: recalled data

(interviews and surveys); observed data (first hand observations); recorded data (records, memos, reports.)

A. Recalled Data. Surveys discover information about peoples' attitudes, and their recalled behavior and usually need to be supplemented with data on perceptions. As discussed above, surveys may not provoke the most thoughtful answers, and people may feel suspicious of them if they do not understand the purposes or are not reassured by the personal credibility of the researcher. On the other hand, if the data are to be used by a group with which the respondent is associated, the survey can add to that group's capacities.

Interviews can be used to pretest survey questions, to pursue the reasons behind survey responses, or to produce information in their own right. Both structured and unstructured interviews can be useful. Unstructured or in depth interviews are more exploratory in nature, and are essential when researchers have little experience at a particular site.[12] Careful recording is very important, and often neglected. Structured interviews may be preferable under some circumstances, since they more closely resemble standardized tools. However, questions should be pretested to ensure that they are not threatening or ambiguous, that they elicit the information desired by the researcher, that answer categories do not preempt phenomenologically valid answers, and do not force the respondents' experience into categories that are meaningless to

them. Semistructured interviews may strike a balance, using amswers from early questions tc determine later lines of inquiry.

B. Observed Data. When participant observation is combined with interview data, it becomes possible to explore relationships between peoples' words and actions. Participant observation supplements interview data by identifying aspects of situations of which participants are not consciously aware.[13] It is a particularly important source of information about interactions and hence about relationships. How they are implemented is very important. It is valuable to record observations promptly and in a manner to allow retrievability by other researchers. It is also esssential to separate notations about behaviors from inferences based on them. For example, an observer might conclude that a meeting was not conducted in a participatory manner, but it is also important to record the actual behavior that led to this conclusion -- extent of eye contact, sharing of "air time", sharing of such functions as proposing and gatekeeping.[14] Samples can be taken for observations as well as for interviews and surveys. Situations, activities, and time frames can form sample units in addition to individuals.

Data from observations are often referred to as "unobtrusive data" because they are not influenced by an interaction between the researcher and those being observed. Unobtrusive measures may be useful if cne can determine what to look for by using

verbal clues from participants. However, Weick and Webb have pointed out that researchers have tended to use unobtrusive measures to learn about those low in organizational hierarchies and about those in poor communities, while allowing managers and decision-makers to be represented though self-report techniques such as interviews and surveys.[15]

Chambers' interest in keeping data collection simple led to a Workshop on Rapid Rural Appraisal at the Institute of Development Studies in 1978. Writing about unobtrusive measures following this conference, Honadle pointed to reconnaissance strategies which use proxy indicators of village welfare -- tin roofs instead of straw, soap inventories in village shops, presence of bicycles are some examples.[16] But proxy measures require care that they are culturally and socially informed. Consider the example of using turnover rates; they would have different meanings depending on the unemployment level in the society.

C. Recorded Data These include archives, memoranda, correspondence, budgets, tax records, reports, studies, and all available public and private records. Recorded data often tell a different story from recalled or observed data and thus can be a useful addendum. (Even for acts as apparently straightforward as voting, peoples' recollection often varies from the public record. A good researcher does not dismiss the difference, but rather knows that the variation may indicate change in

preference, a faulty memory or wished for behavior.)

While budgets are the single most important record, they are often unavailable or incomplete. Budgeting processes are incremental and the iterative changes may be more revealing than the aggregate figures at the end, yet it is precisely these iterative changes which are most difficult to obtain. Recorded data about organizations can be similarly elusive. Memoranda are often available, but with no indication of how complete they are. Individuals keep files selectively and often differing accounts need to be pieced together.

D. Multiple Techniques.

It is often possible and preferable to investigate phenomena using several techniques. For example, one might find out whether meetings between community organizers and farmers are participatory by 1) asking farmers, using both direct and indirect questions; 2) asking the community organizers both kinds of questions; 3) sitting in and observing the meetings; and 4) reviewing process documentation and other written records. If the findings support each other, researchers can be more confident that they are not mere artifacts of the data they have collected. It may be possible to combine the data into single index numbers or even scales, if that seems useful for the analysis. Scales, however, may collapse variables in a way that obscures important differences.

Multiple measures may indicate contradictory findings, particularly when some are quantitative and others are qualitative, or when different stakeholders have been involved in selecting the measures and the data collection techniques. A study of a poverty agency by Trend [17] illustrates an instance when quantitative data on the results of a project appeared to indicate success, while qualitative observations of the organization arrived at the opposite conclusion. The agency explored both sources of data and found that the quantitative measures presented a very superficial picture of their activity. Investigation should therefore consider deeper, more complex results and explanations than may appear at first. The temptation is usually to prematurely reconcile the different results before each line of explanation has been explored. There are often interpersonal pressures to reach agreement among team members, but premature agreement may quash more subtle and perhaps more ambiguous explanations. According to Trend, "the proliferation of divergent explanations should be encouraged. Different analyses, each based upon a different form of information, should be kept separate until late in the analytic game. Alternative explanations should be allowed to 'mature,' and gain adherents or defenders. Then, the stories should be compared. If the accounts mesh, this provides an independent test of the validity of the research. If they do not, the areas of disagreement will provide points at which further analytic leverage can be exerted. A synthesis should be attempted. The

desired result is a third explanation that is testable, and can account for all of the facts at hand."[18]

Care needs to be taken in reporting the data. It is often charged that participant observation is difficult to verify primarily because it is difficult to replicate. The procedures used in participant observation, however, can be reported in detail just as the construction of unobtrusive measures and surveys are. Holistic reporting includes detailed description of the context: what are the social and economic groupings of people in the project area, which of them are affected by the project, and in what ways, what samples were taken and what procedures used to get information? Much depends on keeping accurate and complete field notes wherein behavior is described completely. It can always be reevaluated later in the light of developing informationa about the context, or it can be scrutinized by later observers who wish to see how a particular researcher derived certain conclusions.

Allowing information to develop from the context is extremely time consuming and, in any case, the richness of experience in organizational settings makes it impossible for the observer to avoid selecting some phenomena rather than others for attention. Observers need to be explicit both about their bases for selecting observation sites, and their assumptions about what is important in social relationships. Both the theoretical and

common sense bases of their understanding of what is important in social life needs to be discussed in participant observation research.

V. METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Given these considerations about the value of a process approach and the kinds of information that are useful we can derive several guidelines for planning a study of an intervention's effectiveness. The major point is that each effort to establish effectiveness should consider ways to take process questions seriously and find a way to link the research to the decison process.

A. Planning the Research.

The design and selection of evidence used in research on interventions should be based on the perceptions and experiences of those involved in the program, the relevant stakeholders. These people may decide that a comparative analysis, or an experimental design would be a useful way to test the effect of different ways of delivering a service. Or the administrators may suggest that process documentation would be a useful strategy. The point is that the research design should emerge out of this process of consultation, and not be selected solely for methodological reasons. In addition, the concept of stakeholders should be defined as broadly as is feasible. That is, it should usually include beneficiaries, donors, actual administrators, and perhaps others in the community, or in other

B. Role of Researchers.

Part II noted problems with casting the researcher in the role of "the expert," and proposed a role as a stimulus and a negotiator. Judith Tendler, for example, in conducting evaluations of development projects reminds administrators of different views, and represents the interests of those who are not included.[19] Wholey uses the term "reality appraiser", and suggests that the role of the researcher is to help administrators and stakeholders stay in touch with the reality of what they are doing.[20]

VI. ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESSES

At the outset we noted that research on organizations should be guided by a concern for both methodology and for how organizations use information, and thus we will conclude the discussion of research by turning to this second issue.

It is abundantly clear that projects often do not succeed due to problems in managing or implementing them, rather than a lack of resources or poor design. There are two ways to understand this failure. First, organizations are systems that are competing for resources and support. In order to protect their interests and insure their future they become preoccupied with maintaining and developing their organizations. This concern with organizational maintainance and growth often becomes more important than accomplishing the stated goals of projects

and policies. For example, t' se in charge of a health clinic may become preoccupied with fitting the clinic into a regional health plan, and focus less on improving the health of the community.

Those who subscribe to this perspective try to improve organizational functioning. They may alter incentives and rewards to encourage organization members to follow through on the purpose of the project. Wholey, recommends that organization processes should be guided by results, and suggests a variety of data collection strategies to document what it is accomplishing, and to use the information to make changes. He suggests frequent "reality assessments" to get a quick diagnosis of what is happening and to send signals about any immediate changes.[21]

Appropriate data collection and rapid feedback are closely related to Chambers' recommendation that data collection techniques be kept as simple as possible. Frequently project designs specify the collection of complex sets of data, much of which is unnecessary and will never be used.[22] Complex collections of data can also be intimidating to many inside and outside organizations and hamper their ability to play a creative role. This reminder suggests that in order to know if an organization is improving its capacity to bring about development, we need data on the amount of consultation in an organization, the kinds of information that are collected, the

extent to which those in the field are asked for information, and the incentives that exist for administrators to focus on the development task.

A second way to understand why organizations may not accomplish development goals is to ask whether or not organizations are representing a narrow segment of interests in the community. Grindle, for example, documents how frequently project organizations serve political interests.[23] It may be intentional, or more often such alliances arise because organizations need support, and thus are drawn to those with most power and resources.[24] According to this perspective on organizations a process approach may be naive in assuming that managers are benign, and that in fact managers can use process to divert attention from goals they are uncomfortable with.

Those who take this approach to organizations emphasize the importance of political processes. They stress the role of different stakeholders in the community, and the importance of insuring that a broad array of interests are included. Often they may need to be given some resources or a distinct role to play in order to insure that they are able to represent their interests adequately.[25] We are thus brought back to where we began -- the necessity of thinking of the research and evaluation task as a process of collecting and responding to a variety of kinds of information. In the next section we will continue this discussion by considering examples of measures and indicators.

PART IV

MEASURING EFFECTIVENESS: VARIABLES AND INDICATORS

I. Selecting Variables and Indicators

Recall that we are examining how effective management interventions are, and that we are looking at both the external results of those interventions, and the internal effects they have on the long term capacity of the organization itself. Part I distinguished among kinds of interventions, and intervenors, pointing out that rules of evidence vary with the nature of these inputs, their intensity, duration, and scope. Part II concluded that an approach grounded in positivism is too limited to capture all of the results relevant to development. Therefore, we need to draw from other perspectives, and to be open to a variety of research designs and data sources. Part III described a contingency approach to the research process and noted that research should be grounded in an appropriate methodology and an awareness of how organizations use information.

The next step is to consider the selection of variables and indicators. We classified the results of interventions into outputs, outcomes and consequences; now we will turn to the differences among them, and the tradeoffs that we have to make. For example, research on organizational processes and interactions with the community require data on attitudes and perceptions in addition to data on behavior, and on the activities of the intervention. Measures must also be selected

to do justice to the variety of perspectives in the community. No research effort, however, can or should gather information on all possible variables. Rapid feedback on a few indicators may be more useful than an overly complex study. The choice of variables and indicators thus becomes a series of choices in which stakeholders and researchers negotiate, considering tradeoffs among different measures.

Our concept of development is implicitly openended. If development means facilitating the process by which people increase their capacity to determine their future, planners and designers cannot predict results with any specificity. Thus the choice of indicators is iterative. For example, Wholey suggests making some initial choices of indicators, trying them out on a modest scale, and then revising them throughout the research process.[1]

There are three criteria for selecting indicators. The first is validity, i.e., whether a measure tells us what we want to know. There is no magic formula for validity; instead it relies on the common understandings and values of those involved.[2] For example, stakeholders have to decide whether the number of people attending a health clinic is a valid indicator of the value of the clinic to the community, or whether some qualitative indicators would be more useful. Often the research will be more persuasive if it includes several indicators rather than trying to demonstrate a single hypothesis.[3] The

stakeholders may decide to supplement the data on numbers of clients with information on client attitudes and eventual changes in health conditions. They may also decide that data on the number of clinic users is useful in the short run to determine if the outreach program of the clinic is adequate. The point is that if the research is to be useful to those involved in the intervention, the indicators must have credibility to them.

A second criterion for appropriate indicators is reliability, that measures are sufficiently specific that one gets the same result no matter when or how the data are gathered.[4] It is difficult to have both validity and reliability. The more specific a measure is, the more reliable it will be, but also it is likely to be less valid. Data on the numbers visiting a clinic is a reasonably reliable measure, but as noted, it may not be valid if one is concerned with health conditions in the community.

The third criterion for measures is feasibility. Selecting indicators requires looking in two directions at once -- at the concepts and variables of interest to insure that the measures tell stakeholders what they want to know, but also at the kinds of data that are available or feasible to collect. Sometimes it is appropriate to do an informal cost-effectiveness analysis of the data collection plan.[5] One of the major problems affecting feasibility is the absence of base line data.[6] There

has been some work on "patch-up" evaluation models for situations in which base line data are inadequate.[7] However, the results of such approaches are invariably incomplete. The best solution is to integrate the research with the decision process initially and design a method for reflecting the base line at the outset of the intervention.

II. Examples of Indicators of External Results of Interventions

Following are examples of measures of effectiveness, divided between outputs, impacts and consequences and also categorized according to perspectives of different stakeholders. They refer to a hypothetical intervention, a training program in technical and communication skills for field agents in an extension service of a ministry of agriculture. The intervenors are a team of host country and expatriate experts funded by the Ministry of Agriculture (MOA) and US/AID. We are speculating about the concerns these organizations would identify during a process for discovering appropriate measures of their interests. (In reading these tables, note that variables have been underlined; indicators for those varialbes are listed immediatiely beneath them without underlining.)

Table 4.1 Indicators From Perspective of Trainees
(Immediate Beneficiaries of Training Program)

OUTPUTS

1. Numbers of trainees trained.
   a. Persons hours or months in courses relevant to MOA.
   b. Skills acquired by trainees.
   c. Whether trainees continue to work in country.

2. Compensation and Incentives to Attend and Excel in Trainfng
   a. Organizational incentives
   b. Social and economic incentives
   c. Recognition for excellence in training

IMPACTS

1. Increased Career Oppoprtunities
   a. Promotion following training
   b. Increased collegiality among trainee groups
   c. Recognition from top officials of quality of training program
   d. Increased efficacy with new technical knowledge.

2. Professional Contact/Exchange
   a. Communication between trainees during and after program
   b. Organizational incentives for field agent professional organization or association

CONSEQUENCES

1. Empowerment
   a. Voice for field agents in policy making at regional level
   b. Presence of associations or staff organizations among field agents
   c. Evidence of field agent solidarity

2. Sustainability
   a. Skills retained after period of time
   b. Skills used and updated with on the job performance
   c. Peer networks to reinforce professionalism

3. Capacity
   a. Increased problem solving skills due to training
   b. Increased skill at marshalling resources
   c. Decreased repetition of past errors

Table 4.2 Indicators From Perspective of Farmers
(Eventual Beneficiaries of Training Program)

OUTPUTS

1. Regular input deliver/access
   a. Field interviews conducted on inputs
   b. Comparison of interviews and MOA records
   c. Evidence of physical inputs
   d. Comparison of reports from those most and least accessible to field agents

2. Access To Agent Advice
   a. Familiarity of farmer with agent
   b. Familiarity of agent with farmer and with farm conditions
   c. Characteristics of farmers reporting the most and the least visits

3. Useful Agricultural Advice/Techniques
   a. Observed use of introduced techniques
   b. Record of who did/did not adopt techniques
   c. Farmer familiarity with recently introduced techniques

IMPACTS

1. Increased Production
   a. Field observation
   b. Marketing board records
   c. Market place survey

2. Communication Channel to Organization
   a. Field interviews to establish farmer perception of current channels
   b. Farmer awareness of MOA response to farmer input
   c. MOA interveiw to establish perceptions of channels

CONSEQUENCES

1. Empowerment
   a. Farmer input into bureau policy
   b. Independent farmer organizations
   c. Self-sustaining rural development activities undertaken by farmers organizations

2. Improved Quality of Life
   a. Farm income; productivity
   b. Farm size/land tenure patterns
   c. Rural nutritional levels; life expectancy data
   d. Availability of consumer goods; housing quality; farm animals

3. Sustainability
   a. Farm family able to sustain use of new techniques: inputs obtainable, labor supply possible, land available
   b. Farmers local level organizations assist with spreading risk factors.
   c. Land availability not adversely affected by introduction of new technologies.
   d. Land quality not adversely affected by new technologies.
   e. Public policies reinforce use of new technologies.

Table 4.3 Indicators From Perspective of Intervenors (Team Members)

OUTPUTS

1. Number of people trained

2. Successful Working Relationships with Responsible Organization
   a. Interviews with Team and MOA contacts
   b. MOA support (facilities, information)
   c. Team cooperation, responses to bureau requests, following bureau procedures
   d. Frequency of contact between bureau staff and team members

3. Communication With Trainees
   a. Interviews with team and trainees
   b. Social contact between team and trainees
   c. In-session dialogue between team and trainees

4. Participation in Setting Curriculum
   a. Curriculum consultations with team
   b. Topics or techniques suggested by team -- what was and was not adopted

IMPACTS

1. Improved Unit Performance
   a. Team assessment of skills
   b. Compare before/after performance of trainees
   c. Questionnaire to trainees
   d. Farmer assessment of unit performance

2. Use of new techniques in the field
   a. Field observation
   b. Field interviews with farmers, field agents
   c. Bureau records

3. Increased role for training programs
   a. Resources committed to training increased
   b. Visibility of training program as part of organizational performance

CONSEQUENCES

1. Increased production
   a. Field observation
   b. Marketing board surveys
   c. Market surveys

2. Institutionalization of training practices
   a. Organizational incentives to institutionalize practices
   b. Donor agency support for institutionalization
   c. MOA support for institutionalization of training program

3. Increased Host Organizational Capacity
   a. MOA better able to influence its environment
   b. MOA able to attract, recruit, and retain stronger applicants
   c. Upper level MOA officials more prepared to listen to communications
   d. More receptivity to information from farmer organization

Table 4.4 Host Country Organization(Ministry of Agriculture)

OUTPUTS

1. Introduction of new techniques and practices
   a. Evidence for support of new techniques and practices within organization (incentives for trainees, upper level interest)
   b. Follow up program planned
   c. New techniques (or processes) integrated into organization
   d. New materials (views) from program perceived as useful

2. Input on curriculum/training program
   a. The Curriculum jointly planned
   b. Curriculum and program planning jointly undertaken

3. Training Program Cost
   a. Cost of program outweighed by returns on productivity of trainees
   b. Unit performance shows increased efficiency as well as effectiveness

IMPACTS

1. Institutional development
   a. MOA more capable as an organization to identify problems
   b. MOA more able to marshall resources to address problems
   c. MOA learning from program as well as training participants

2. Productivity improved
   a. Numbers of people reached by MOA increased while employees not increased
   b. Information flows improved laterally as well as vertically
   c. Standards of excellence increased throughout organization

CONSEQUENCES

1. Sustainability
   a. Program supported when donor withdraws
   b. Team trained people to replace themselves
   c. Reduced dependency on inputs from the outside (training material, equipment)

2. Capacity improved
   a. Organization able to learn from experience
   b. Organization able to reach into environment and affect changes
   c. Organization able to avoid repeating past errors

Table 4.5 Intervention from the Perspective of the Donor Ageny

OUTPUTS

1. Project run according to design
   a. Number of people trained
   b. Budget spent
   c. Schedule met

2. Skills improvement by those in the field
   a. Before/after comparison using base line data
   b. Field interviews with extension service recipients

3. Training curriculum developed
   a. Curriculum developed by team working with host country organization
   b. Curriculum replicable for use in other training programs

IMPACTS

1. Training program utilized by host country in their management of human resources
   a. MOA better able to recruit and retain the best candidates available
   b. MOA institutionalizes training program

2. New techniques utilized in field
   a. Field observations and interviews with farmers and agents
   b. Organizational incentives for agents to promote new techniques
   c. Material incentives for farmers to adopt new techniques
   d. Evidence of successful implementation of new techniques

3. Small farmer benefit from the training of agents
   a. Field observations
   b. Comparison of characteristics of farmers reporting use of new techniques and services (size of farm, income level)

CONSEQUENCES

1. Increased productivity for beneficiaries
   a. Market board records
   b. Market surveys
   c. Field observations

2. Sustainability and institutional development
   a. Increased capacity of MOA to be proactive--seeking opportunities to reach rural poor
   b. Increased capacity of MOA to attract resources
   c. Organizational incentives to support training

3. Capacity building
   a. New organizational abilities
   b. Practices or services changes as a result of new techniques

4. Empowerment
   a. Self-sustaining rural development efforts undertaken by farmer association or coops

III. Appraising Organizational Capacity

A. The State of the Art

Having discussed examples of indicators which different stakeholders in a training program might select to measure program effectiveness, consider now indicators of organizational capacity. Assessing organizational capacity is seldom done very systematically. At the outset of the research for this paper, experienced evaluation officials were interviewed about the state of the art in determining the effectiveness of management interventions. The most frequent reply was that little was written explicitly about assessing organizational capacity.

Usually the evaluation official enlists an experienced manager to do institutional assessment, hoping experience alone will generate the most appropriate data collection.[8]

To approach the question more systematically we suggest below some dimensions of organizational capacity and some indicators that could reflect whether capacity has been increased. There will be different perspectives on appropriate indicators depending on one's location in the organization. In general there are four different groups: top administrators, internal line staff, publics with which staff regularly interact, and constituents. (For example, the constituencies which support AID are Congress, interest groups such as Title XII universities, and church related groups. These constituencies do not fully agree among themselves. More to the point, they do not necessarily agree with AID administrators, nor with internal line staff about organizational capacity in AID. Congress will almost always consider more responsiveness to Congressional committees to be an indication of effectiveness, while agency staff will want more decentralization and bottom-up decision making.) Organizations are often caught in the cross fire between competing interpretations of their capacities. Public sector bureaucracies have the additional burden of few 'bottom-line' indicators which reveal their internal efficiency. Lacking "prices", they also lack information about demands and satisfaction with their services.[9]

Organizational capacity and learning involves the following:

1. Being Proactive. A learning organization tries to shape and influence its environment. It takes the initiative in bringing clients, beneficiaries and community leaders together. It establishes linkages with other organizations and forms networks which nhance its ability to influence its environment.

2. Double Loop Learning. An organization should reflect on goals and purposes as well as routines. Argyris distinguishes between two kinds of learning: "single loop" in which an organization learns new techniques and routines, and "double loop"in which it reflects on its goals and assumptions, or its "world views".[10]

3. Trial and Error. Korten notes that one of the hallmarks of a learning organization is a willingness to "embrace error" and to learn from mistakes.[11] Stout and Landau argue that decision makers function with limited knowledge and can never know all they need to know in designing programs.[12] Therefore programs should be thought of as tentative experiments which can be altered.[13]

4. Incentives to be Responsive. Organizations do not find it easy to change, thus capacity building is most apt to occur where there are incentives for change, rewards for innovation and for working with the community, and where there is a willingness to grant discretion. Some interests are

usually hurt by innovation, and it is important to consider ways to include them in the new efforts.[14]

5. Learning from the Community. Korten reminds managers that often the community has a long history of dealing with the same problem the organization is trying to solve.[15] Processes have to be established to collect information from the community. They should be institutionalized in order to continue over time. Efforts to determine community contributions and co-production should be considered. These several dimensions of learning suggest the following indicators:

C. Indicators of Organizational Capacity

1. Responding to error.
   a. Processes exist for discovering and reflecting on organizational behavior.
   b. The above processes are legitimate to members of the organization. Findings are respected.
   c. Past errors are neither repudiated nor repeated. Decisions reflect awareness of past mistakes.
   d. Incentives do not punish those who identify error.

2. Efforts to Expand Financial Resources
   a. Resources in current budget compare favorably with past operational budgets.
   b. Constraints on budgets are anticipated and addressed.
   c. Potential resources are identified; strategies planned to elicit them.

3. Address Huamn Resource Problems Within Organization
   a. Organization can attract, recruit and retain able staff.
   b. There are incentives for effective job performance.
   c. There are opportunities for skill enhancement.
   d. There are opportunities for lower level staff to provide dissenting or critical information.
   e. Performance criteria for promotion and pay increases are in accord with organizational goals service to client groups.

4. Proactive Learning from Environment
   a. Informati on from parallel groups or organizations in the environment is sought out and communicated within the organization.
   b. Opportunity for interchange with other organizations is encouraged.
   c. Recognition of variety of organizations relevant to work of the organization.
   d. Thoughtful consideration of client comments.
   e. Incentives to listen to criticism from client as well as from donor organizations.

5. Coordination
   a. Tasks involving different units are effectively implemented.
   b. Lateral communication flows (memos, reports, meetings) occur at regular intervals.
   c. "Going through channels" is not so cumbersome or burdensome that short cuts are regularly devised when inter bureau cooperation is needed.

IV. An Integrated Process

These points can be drawn together into a process for researching the effectiveness of management interventions which can be called an Integrated Participatory Evaluative Process (IPEP). It is called "integrated" because it integrates qualitative and quantitative data, and draws upon several approaches to research. It is called "participatory" because it draws in the stakeholders, or beneficiaries, and ensures they become active in the evaluative process, using and owning its findings. It is called "evaluative" because it points to ways to learn about results of interventions, and it is called "process" because it suggests ways to learn about these results and feed the learning into the implementation process.

1. Identify objectives using interviews and archival research. Start from the assumption that there are differing objectives for different stakeholders. Use these different views to

develop appropriate research designs (experimental, goal achievement, action research, process documentation, etc.)

2. Establish indicators of major variables. These will be based on the objectives established by different stakeholders, and by the data that are feasible to collect.

3. Design data collection procedures.
   a. Interviewing to find out before and after experiences, perceptions of results.
   b. Records of results.
   c. Unobtrusive indicators. For example, observations of the quality of the fields, of interactions, flow of traffic around field offices, exchanges in cafeterias.
   d. Be attentive for both quantitative and qualitative data, for the telling incident or anecdote.

4. Select Appropriate Techniques of Analysis. Some of the data will permit quantitative analysis, and establishment of ordinal or interval scales. Nominal data can be transformed into categories or handled through careful descriptive analysis.

5. Design reporting sessions as carefully as you design the research. Make sure there are frequent sessions with managers to give them immediate feedback, and to suggest any useful changes in the research process and task. Simple visuals are recommended where possible, to make the data as accessible as possible. Involve the widest range of stakeholders as is feasible in these sessions.

V. Conclusion

We have reviewed the selection of variables and indicators in detail, using an example of a hypothetical training program to illustrate some specific indicators which could be employed. Indicators of organizational capacity were also detailed, precisely because organizational assessment is most frequently done more intuitively than systematically. And, finally, we have

pointed to a way for integrating qualitative and quantitative data collection in a participatory evaluative process.

PART V

FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDA FOR DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

One of the paradoxes of work in the development management field is that what one does to enhance survival does not necessarily enhance growth. To have the field achieve greater saliency within funding organizations, we work to make ourselves indispensable. Yet in the process of becoming indispensable, too few resources are committed to reflection and knowledge generation. Thus, it can be said that the Office of Multisectoral Development retails the services of practitioners while underinvesting in research and development. Skills in development management are now in demand, but the resources committed to knowledge generation and hence innovation and learning are far less than they ought to be.

On the other hand, practitioners have not always articulated a research agenda in terms translatable into an Agency research agenda. The retailing of services is not always done with an overarching research strategy in mind within which individual activities fit and contribute to cumulative discovery in development management. We need to learn more about bureaucratic reorientation, community organizing, managerial leadership, field extension work, and mid-career training, but rather than

accumulating encyclopedic reports on each of these , we need insignts into how efforts on each might be strengthened and what organizational relationships are best.

Knowledge gaps

There is research to be done in development management within areas of activity not addressed by this paper, for example on improving the management of public enterprises, the impact of IMF stabilization agreements on decentralization efforts, and the managerial implications of conditionality in World Bank structural adjustment lending. While recent work more directly related to current management interventions is highly innovative and frequently responsive to needs for more effective development processes there are gaps which constitute an agenda for future research. For example, without any pretense at being inclusive, the following issues warrant more systematic analysis:

1. Research on organizational learning and adaptation.

While there is research on organizational adaptation in the private sector, there is far too little in the public sector. The World Bank's new section on public sector management is an acknowledgement that this work demands attention. We reviewed much of this literature for this paper, but were not able to undertake first hand field studies. Future field studies should begin to detail the facilitating conditions in different kinds of political, economic and social systems for organizational adaptation.

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2. Transferability of organizational processes for adaptation.

There are important unresolved questions about the transferability of organizational processes for learning and adaptation. While different experiments are currently underway in the work, for example, of NIA, AIM and NASPAA in the Philippines, and for DPMC in Portugal, components within those programs are not being compared and contrasted. This is not to criticize those laboring on those projects. Quite the contrary; it is to say that there is a role for outsiders to learn from these experimental processes in order to consider their applicability in other environments. Though views differ about some of the processes for comparison of components of these interventions, the need remains for such research.

3. Generation of managerial insights in evaluation processes.

Though institutions are undergoing different kinds of evaluations all the time, too few evaluations are either useful for managers or for beneficiaries. Other processes for providing insights must be developed. Process documentation, like other forms of action research, goes some distance in this direction, yet these techniques are not widely used. There ought to be more attention to developing processes which could afford managers more insight into their own implementing processes. The discovery or generation of such processes warrants much more attention.

4.Participatory evaluative processes.

All too frequently beneficiaries are interviewed, and data gathered on their use of inputs and generation of outputs with too little inclusion of those beneficiearies and their local organizations in the research process itself. Yet their local level organizations could be enhanced by learning data acquisition techniques and skills. Thus we need more research which integrates beneficiaries into the data collection and analysis process and shares with others in the development management field how this process works.

5.Influence of different facilitating conditions for social learning programs

This issue is closely related to numbers 1 and 2 above. The problem is that while we have begun the process of generating lists of facilitating conditions for social learning programs, we know too little about the difference which each of these conditions makes in the feasibility of social learning. Consider, for example, the problem of developing kidney transplants in humans. The rejection of the transplant occurs for literally hundreds of reasons. Discovery of causes, or creation of conditions which can counter them, requires consistency of record keeping and attention to each of the variables as it accounts for variance. Development management needs to approximate this degree of concentrated attention in order to build cumulatively upon what has been learned to date.

6. Technology and organizational adaptation in rural development.

While we know that irrigated agriculture systems are different from rainfed systems, we have yet to focus upon the implications for the organizations working with these different technologies. Bureaucratic reorientaion appears to be easier and to have greater utility to both farmer and organization in irrigated systems. What about other agricultural systems and their impact upon managerial processes? Technological differences affect organizational structures and communication flows as well as the organizing potential of beneficiaries. (Among many examples are e.g., introduction of mini-computers, hybrid seeds which require different storage as well as different treatment, or changes in tools). Technology affects many aspects of administrative behavior; conversely, organizations affect the rate of technological innovation within a society. Research on the interaction between technology and organizations in developing countries is sparse; little of it is focused on the managerial implications of change.

7. Managerial leadership styles and culture.

While managerial leadership has received a fair amount of attention within industrial states, there is far less documentation about managerial leadership in developing countries. Extraordinarily skilled managers are both too preoccupied to write those accounts themselves and reluctant to be 'slowed down' by observation of their activities. Yet is is precisely such accounts which would afford management training

programs and others with more meaningful cases and material and more insight into how such managers function and handle constraints through political adjustments.

8. Mechanisms for linking local level organizations with international organizations

As the interest in participatory programs has grown so has the frustration of those international and some bilateral agencies which seek to work cooperatively with local level organizations. All too often the funders find themselves working through layers of intermediaries, which can be very expensive in all resources -- time, talent, people, and money. Yet we know little about linking mechanisms or the internal constraints (contractual regulations or other requirement) at both ends which impede cooperation.

9. Documentation of Field Experience and Action Research

The scarcity of insightful documentation on field experience is a serious problem. It is difficult to build cumulatively on experience when records are few, incomplete, or inaccessible. Most skilled practitioners are too caught up in what they are doing and observing to take the time to reflect upon its implications and record it for more general audiences. The resulting paucity of good materials informed by experience cripples our collective intellectual development. For young people entering the field, the scarcity of documentation is a major handicap. Consider the problem of accessibility of

documentation. Materials that are available tend to be housed in capital cities, with an unfairly large share being kept in Washington. Kept, and maybe catalogued, by consulting firms, universities, USAID or IBRD, these materials are not always disseminated to universities in developing countries or even to the management institutes network. Standard programs in public administration are frequently using out of date materials which are lack-luster at best, or at worst narrowly focused on control mechanisms rather than learning and adaptation. Managing participatory projects is rarely an integral part of public administration curriculum; rather the focus is on service delivery with the implicit assumption that what is to be delivered is best determined by administrative decision making. Mid-career officials coming to the United States for training repeatedly voice deep frustration at the provincialsim of standard public administration curricula. Some universities are beginning to integrate more development studies into administrative materials but there are too few such programs. While there are many reasons for these inadequacies, they are again exacerbated by the skimpiness of documentation on field experience. Donor agencies should do more than they currently to improve documentation as well as dissemination of field experiences in development management.

The network of management institutes holds great potential for the growth of the development management field. Sharing

insights, materials, and experiences and supporting efforts at improving training as well as intervention strategies is of central import for these institutes and for those of us who read their journals and follow their work. Further, expanding the membership in the management institutes network (e.g. to include more African programs and to allow for some European and American members) could be a major contribution to the spirit of international technical cooperation. International organizations (especially the UNDP with its interest in TCDC) and bilateral agencies could play more of a facilitating role than at present. This network would also function to assist the enlivening of American administration. It is not only the Japanese from whom Americans can learn alternative management practices.

Action research is the central route for improving the quality of education and training in public management. Yet action research components are difficult to build into training programs without outside support. Thus donor agencies must consider the kinds of action research needed and assist efforts to enhance its role in training programs.

In conclusion, there is much research to be done in the infant field of development management. Since there are serious needs for increased skill in managing development, there is every pressure to proceed too quickly. Yet this is a field of inquiry we are building, not a passing fad; the research foundation needs to be broad and well structured to sustain a considerable future

load. There is much to be done and too little time and too few resources as we race against the pace of underdevelopment. Underdevelopment -- the process by which people are marginalized by unresponsive economic and political systems -- is a threat to all our futures. Development management with its commitment to organizational learning, institutional development, and participatory programs has significant potential in helping devise a more equitable world. Thus research in development management is not only a high priority but is essential for our collective global future.

NOTES

PART I

1

The wave of criticism of development programs and projects which led to the introduction of "New Directions" has been amply reviewed elsewhere. See, for example, Michael Todaro Economic Development in the Third World (London: Longmans, 1977); Coralie Bryant and Louise White, Managing Development in the Third World (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982); Denis Goulet, The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development (New York: Atheneum, 1971); David Korten and Felipe Alfonso, Bureaucracy and the Poor: Closing the Gap (West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1983).

2

See, more recently, Guy Gran, Development by People (New York:Praeger, 1983). This book details the paradigm shift and provides the single most comprehensive bibliography for those in the development field. The issue of effectiveness of the "New Directions" has often been of serious concern for Congress. For one of the recent studies of this concern see the Report Prepared for the House Government Operations Committee by the Congressional Research Service staff (Coralie Bryant, Steven Arnold, and James Weaver major contributors) The New Directions Mandate and the Agency for International Development (July 13 1981).

3

The recent policy paper from the Office of Multisectoral Development, USAID "Institutional Development" (1982) distills the AII experience with institutional development and strategies for the future. A forthcoming book, edited by Rudi Klauss and David Korten, People-Centered Development (West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 1984?) will also address the directions for social transformation and a framework for people-centered development.

4

The Rural Development Committee at Cornell University has produced six monographs, thirteen occasional papers, nineteen volumes in a special series on rural local government, seven on rural local organization, and numerous volumes on landlessness, paraprofessionals, agricultural research, and research management. This work, along with the additional concentrated work of Norman Uphoff on the Gal Oya project in Sri Lanka is of special importance in contributing to our understanding of

organizations and rural development.

5

Korten and Alfonso, eds., Bureaucracy and the Poor (cited above) was originally published for the Asian Institute of Management by McGraw Hill (Singapore) in 1981. This book carries especially noteworthy contributions from the Management Institutes Working Group, a network of institutions in Latin America (INCAE, IESA) and Asia (AIM, IIMA). The member instituions are listed in the appendix.

6

Development Alternatives Inc. also has a publications list including some twenty field reports which have eleven working papers, other articles, state of the art papers and materials reflecting their contributions to our understanding of development management, most particularly of integrated rural development.

7

The Development Project Management Center, U.S. Department of Agriculture in cooperation with U.S. AID, has several reports available on their field experience, including, for example, Elements of Project Management and Improving Financial Management and Financial and Program Management by Merlyn Kettering.

8

William J. Siffin, Director, International Development Institute, founded earlier the PASITAM Documentation and Analysis Center, Bloomington, Indiana. PASITAM Design Notes as well as the workbooks, textbooks, and other publications helped to carry knowledge from the earlier Comparative Administration Group days forward to incorporate more organizational and analytical skills into the current period.

9

Much of our knowledge of action research is learned from the work undertaken by managment institutes abroad, most particularly at the Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad, which has been at the frontiers in this field. See for example their journal of management research, VIKALPA, for insights into their approach to action research. The Asian Institute of Managment in Manila has similarly been at the cutting edge in working on action research in Southeast Asia.

10

See Bryant and White, Managing Development in the Third World,

11

See, for example, the NASPAA publication Social Development Management: An Annotated Bibliography compiled by Elisabeth Shields (Washington, 1982) and the NASPAA Working Papers: No. 1,

David Korten and Norman Uphoff, Bureaucratic Reorientation for Participatory Rural Development (1981); No. 2, George Carner and David Korten, People-Centered Planning: The USAID Philippines Experience (1982); No.3, David Pyle, From Project to Program: Structural Constraints Associated with Expansion (1982); and No. 4, David Korten, The Working Group as a Mechanism for Managing Bureaucratic Reorientation (1982).

12

See Bryant and White, Managing Development in the Third World.

13

The World Bank has recently undertaken to add to its concern with institutional development by creating a section on public sector managment. The interest of the IBRD is also reflected in their focus on development management in the World Development Report 1983 (forthcoming, summer 1983).

14

Frances F. Korten, "Community Participation: A Management Perspective on Obstacles and Options" in D. Korten and F. Alfonso, eds., Bureaucracy and the Poor, p. 187.

15

See David C. Korten and Norman T. Uphoff. Bureaucratic Reorientation for Participatory Rural Development.

PART TWO

1

These issues are discussed extensively by Johan Galtung in relation tc development; see especially "Power and Global Planning and Resource Management" in Antony Dolman, ed., Global Planning and Resource Management (New York: Pergamon, 1980) and The True Worlds (New York, The Free Press, 1980). For a shorter discussion more specific to organizations, see Tim R.V. Davis and Fred Luthans, "A Social Learning Approach to Organizational Behavior" in Academy of Management Review 5(1980): 281 - 290.

2

For a discussion of how positivism has continued to influence social science long after its decline in philosophy, see Eugene Miller, "Pcsitivism, Historicism, and Political Inquiry" in American Political Science Review 66 (1972): 796 -817.

3

Marvin Harris' paraphrase cf a working scientist's definition of science, Cultural Materialism (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), p. 16.

4

Ian Mitroff, The Subjective Side of Science (Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1974).

5

Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970 - 2nd edition).

6

Paul Feyerabend, Against Method (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities, 1975).

7

Ibid.

8

As examples of structural and critical positions, which can be very close, see Galtung, note 1. Also, on the study of management in American history, see Richard Edwards, Contested Terrain (New York: Basic Books, 1979). There are a number of interesting pieces by Mayer Zald, including "Political Economy: A Framework for Comparative Analysis" in Mayer Zald, ed., Power in Organizations (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt Press, 1970) and Organizational Change: The Political Economy of the YMCA (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

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Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction cf Reality (New York:Anchor, 1967).

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R.G.H. Siu, The Tao of Science (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1957).

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J. Gabriel Campbell, Ramesh Shrestha, and Linda Stone, The Use and Misuse of Social Science Research in Nepal (Kirtipur, Kathmandu: Research Center for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1979).

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Denis Goulet, The Cruel Choice (New York: Atheneum, 1971).

13

Edward Said, Covering Islam (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

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Herbert Simon, Sciences of the Artificial (Cambridge:MIT, 1969).Trudi Miller, "Conclusion" in Trudi Miller, ed., Thinking about Public Sector Performance (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming) and comments at the Social Development

Management Workshop at the Society for International Development Conference, Baltimore, July 1982 and at the National Capital Area Political Science Association Conference, March 1983.

15 Simon, Sciences of the Artificial, pp. 33-34

16 See the NASPAA Working Papers by David Korten, cited in note 11 of Part 1; also "Social Development: Putting People First" in Bureaucracy and the Poor; Frances Korten, Building National Capacity to Develop Water Users' Associations, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 528 (Washington: World Bank, 1982); and Norman Uphoff, various reports on the Gal Oya project.

17 Frederick Thayer, "Organization Theory as Epistemology: Transcending Hierarchy and Objectivity". In Carl J. Bellone, ed., Organization Theory and the New Public Administration (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1980).

18 Irving L. Janis, Victims of Groupthink (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin and Co., 1972).

19 Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964).

PART THREE

1 There are many sources on experimental design; for one applied to the development context, see Francis W. Hoole. Evaluation Research and Development Activities, (Beverly Hills:Sage, 1978.)

2 Ibid..

3 See PART I, Footnote 2.

4 Michael Patton, Utilization Based Evaluation, (Beverly Hills:Sage, 1978); Creative Evaluation, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1981).

5 Anthony Bottrall, "The Action Research Aproach to Problem Solving, With Illustrations From Irrigation Management," Overseas Development Institute Working Paper, No. 9, April 1982; G.I. Susman and R. Evered, "As Assessment of the Scientific Merits of Action Research" in Administrative Science Quarterly 23

(1978): 582 - 603; Isidor Chein et. al., "The Field of Action Research" in American Psychologist 3 (1948): 43 - 50; Kurt Lewin, "Action Research and Minority Problems" in Journal of Social Issues 2 (1946): 34 - 46; Michael Foster, "An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Action Research in Work Organizations" in Human Relations 25.

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Trudi Miller, "Conclusion" in Thinking about Public Sector Performance, cited in Note 13, Section II above.

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15

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DPMC GLOSSARY

Accelerated learning systems

ALS is a set of activities designed to achieve cost effective learning, knowlege, understanding, skills, the ability to follow specific procedures and the appropriate responses for performing tasks. (1)

Action-training approach

The action-training approach is characterized by an emphasis on in-country, on-the-spot training of persons actually responsible for "live" projects. Action-training is tailored to answer the needs of people engaged in real project activities; the trainees own project management capability. The action-training approach can be adjusted to focus on ACTION or TRAINING depending on the needs of the people being trained. (2)

Generic Management Functions

These are the management elements which DPMC research has found to be associated with the successful implementation of project planning:

1) Clearly stated and shared objectives.
2) Consensus on the strategies and means for accomplishing the objectives.
3) Consensus on roles and responsiblities.
4) Realistic implementation planning and support systems.
5) Operational guidance and adaptive mechanisms for policy and program modification and redesign. (3)

Implementation Working Group

Once a project is approved, the top management team chooses a group to implement the project. Members include those with the skills and knowlege to carry out the project and representatives of the intended beneficiaries. At least one member of the Project Working Group is chosen to be on the implementation team in the interest of preserving continuity. The Implementation Working Group receives training with concentration on concepts and techniques appropriate to the specific project. (4)

Management improvement

DPMC defines management improvement as the process of upgrading, adapting and amending the application of the generic management functions by individuals and groups in the work context. (5)

Performance-based management

This term refers to results-oriented management concepts and processes in the implementation of development projects. The foucs is on objectives and accomplishments in relation to tasks and functions in projects. The performance based approach is designed to operate in the context of the people who are doing the work and help them to do it in the most simple, cost-effective manner possible. (6)

Performance sensing system

"A system that provides information which helps users to detect and anticipate problems and opportunities associated with the adoption of an innovative management technology and to respond appropriately to these problems and opportunities." (7)

Preliminary Project Plan

The Project Working Group prepares the preliminary project plan on the basis of advice and other guidance from the top management and/or agency sponsors. The project working group can call on the Project Development Resource Team for help if needed. The preliminary project is a fairly detailed description of how the project might work based on readily available data. It includes a statement of the project sensitivity, procedural parameters and contextual constraints. (8)

Pre-selection Committee

This is an inter-ministerial group which judges the merits of a proposed project on the basis of national and sectoral priorities. The committee is composed of representatives from all key ministeries and agencies involved in development activities. The committee can promote a project for more study, approve the project, request clarification or reject the project. (9)

Project Development Resource Team (PDRT)

This term refers to the central training-consulting team which consults with working groups to develop projects and is responsible for the training of working groups. It is a multi-disciplinary team, knowlegeable and experienced in project planning management. It is made up of indigenous experts and some expatriots if necessary. (10)

Process consultation

This term refers to the collaboration between the consultant group and client wherein there is shared responsiblity between the two in defining problems and determining objectives. This approach emphasizes the discovery of skills and knowlege of the client and clients' ability to contribute to defining their needs. (11)

Project Management Systems

"An integrated set of management-related principles, concepts and techniques useful in designing, implementation and evaluation of programs and projects.

It is characterized by a broad and collaborative reconnaissance of the client organization/environment, by successive iteration of shared objectives and intervention approaches, by a 'learning by doing' training mode and by a commitment to the premise that most important training results are demonstrated back-home performance improvement." (12)

Project Planning and Decision-Making Systems

This term describes a process designed to help government decision makers to identify, appraise plan and approve projects. The system involves the development of standardized formats for project documents so that comprehensive and comparable information can be forwarded on all projects to facilitate analysis and the decision-making process. (13)

Project Profile

This document represents the first formal conceptualization of a project. Framed in a standardized format, the PP tells all relevant information about a proposed project based on existing and readily available data. The PP is designed to give the best use of pre-investment study finding and provide the most information for the money. (14)

Project sensitivity

This term refers to the vulnerability of projects to factors such as foreign exchange rate, price policy or land tenure conditions. Project sensitivity memoranda indicate possible problems or issues which may require action and some estimated consequences or guidance to help decision-makers. (15)

Project Working Group

This is a committee chosen by the top management of the responsible organization to carry out the selected project. The project working group is trained by the PDRT to do the specific planning and to set up the project in accordance with the top management. The members of the project working group are chosen from all institutions or agencies affected by or contributing to the project. If the project is a "social impact" project, local representation on the working group is necessary. (16)

NOTES

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8) Soloman, p. 11.

9) Kettering, Merlyn, p. 7.

10) Ibid., p. 3.

11) Ibid.

12) Evolving Technologies for Project Management Improvement", DPMC, 1981, p. 3.

13) Ingle, Marcus D. "Reaching the Poor Through Development Assistance: An overview of strategies and techniques." A paper presented at the Roundtable on "Implementing Poverty Alleviation Policies: Management Characteristics and Issues." American Society for Public Administration, Annual Meeting. March 21-25, 1982. Honolulu, Hawaii.

14) Kettering, Merlyn, p. 10.

15) Soloman, M., p. 11.

16) Ibid., p. 8.

17) Evolving Technologies for Project Management Improvement, DPMC, 1981, p. III-4.

Achieving fit

The performance of an organization is a function of the appropriate relationship or 'fit' between task, context and organization. Programs achieve a good 'fit' if their projects serve the needs of the beneficiaries at a particular time and place. A strong organization must then be built which fits successful programs and is capable of making them work. (1)

Agency-based implementation

This term means that pilot projects are implemented by the agency which is expected to learn from them, rather than by an outside agency or university. (2)

Bureaucratic reorientation

This term refers to the change of bureaucratic structure to facilitate development processes based on social learning approaches to policy formulation. BRO includes increasing institutional capacity for people-centered planning and innovative learning. (3)

Collaborative planning approach

The concept of collaborative planning means that development planners and beneficiaries approach the development activity as 'equals'. The experience and expertise of both are recognized and utilized. The beneficiaries are recognized as 'experts on their own environment and conditions of life and capable of actively participating in decision making. (4)

Implementation gap

This term means that the achievement of development objectives is blocked by failures in the implementation processes. (5)

Innovative learning

This term means learning directed toward creating new values, structures and problem formulation. (6)

Institutional organizers

This term refers to a cadre within the ministry or implementing agency which would be made up of personnel who would act as catalysts for rural organizations and as bridges between farmers and bureau personnel. IOs have some technical background and some training in community organizing. (7)

Institutional profiles

This term refers to social institutional data collected by ministry or agency staff which is used for project selection and planning. This includes vital information about existing institutions and organizations that may have an impact on proposed projects. (8)

People-centered planning

Ted Thomas defines this term as a development planning approach premised on human-oriented concerns, transactive planning and a emphasis on field-with-center collaborative action. (9) David Korten says that the focus of this approach is on relieving constraints that limit the effectiveness of self-help efforts to which most of the poor are already committing their physical and intellectual efforts. (18)

Process-oriented research

This term refers to research focused on the social processes taking place in the learning context. Social processes include the interaction among and between individuals, organizations and technology. (10)

Process documentation

This term refers to the intensive participant observation in learning labs (pilot projects) to provide monthly non-evaluative feedback on key process events to operating personnel and other concerned individuals and institutions. (11)

Seeding pilots

When learning labs and working groups have come up with a satisfactory program model, each member designates one upcoming system rehabilitation in a region other than the one in which the initial pilot was located. The region is then "seeded" with its own learning lab. (12)

Strategic management approach

Top management approaches the task of the agency from an iterative, creative perspective, continuously reassessing agency objectives in light of changing aspects of human well-being among agency clients and the society as a whole. Strategic management implies "double-loop learning" systems. (13)

Survival strategies

These are self maintenance activities of poor households. Survival strategies are context specific in that they depend on such factors as access to and use of local land and water resources. Information on survival strategies of beneficiaries is crucial for identifying potential self-help efforts to improve their ability to cope with their environment. (14)

Time-phased learning labs

This term refers to the use of the social learning approach in pilot projects which are chosen as learning laboratories. The emphasis is on learning from experience, social processes and careful examination of errors made in the learning labs. Implementing agencies attempt 'phased project expansion' which has three phases: learning first to be effective, then to be efficient and finally to expand. (15)

Transactive planning

This is an action research methodology in which the researcher is engaged in a mutual learning experience with the subjects of the experiment. The researchers is available for and vulnerable to learning from subjects. Transactive planning is also referred to as 'engaged planning' or 'transactive dialogue'. (16)

Working group

This is a committee made up of implementing agency personnel and social scientists which act as a steering committee for learning lab projects. The group is meant to be multi-disciplinary and include people from participating institutions and organizations. The committee members observe the project activity to spot difficulties, contribute to the problem solving and training of agency personnel. (17)

NOTES

1) Korten, David C.,"Community Organization and Rural Development: A Learning Process Approach." Public Administration Review, Sept./Oct. 1980, pp. 480-511.

2) Korten, Frances, "Building National Capacity to Develop Water User's Associations: Experience from the Philippines." A paper prepared for the World Bank Sociological Workshop, Washington, D.C., July 27, 1981. (Mimeo).

3) Korten, David and Norman Uphoff, "Bureaucratic Reorientation for Participatory Rural Development." (NASPAA Working Paper, No. 1) Washington, D.C.: NASPAA, 1981.

4) Thomas, Theodore, "Reorienting Bureaucratic Performance: A Social Learning Approach to Development Action." University of Southern California, July 1982 (Mimeo).

5) Korten, David C., "The Management of Social Transformation." Public Administration Review, Nov./Dec., 1981, pp. 609-618.

6) Ibid.

7) Klauss, Rudi, Wendell Schaeffer and Elisabeth Shields, "Social Development Management Workshop Proceedings." Feb 4-5, 1982. Washington, D.C.: NASPAA, 1982.

8) Korten, David, (PAR, Sept./Oct. 1980).

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11) Korten, Frances, 1981.

12) Korten, David, (PAR, Sept./Oct. 1980).

13) Korten, David and Norman Uphoff (NASPAA, Nov., 1981).

14) Ibid.

15) Korten, David (PAR, Sept./Oct. 1980).

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17) Korten, David, "The Working Group as a Mechanism for Managing Bureaucratic Reorientation: Experience from the Philippines." (NASPAA Working Paper, No. 4) Washington, D.C.: NASPAA, 1981.

18) Carner, George and David C. Korten, "People Centered Planning: The USAID/Philippines Experience." (NASPAA Working Paper, No. 2) Washington, D.C.: NASPAA, 1982.